

THE LIBERATOR

IS PUBLISHED —

EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

AT THE

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 91 CORNHILL.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

TERMS — Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment be made in advance.

All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID), to the General Agent.

Advertisements making less than one square inch three times for 75 cents — one square for \$1.00.

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz.: — FRANCIS JACKSON, ELIAS GALT LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILIBERT, J. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

A movement also exists of the paper and *Chronicle*, with equal distance.

School, NEW JERSEY.

List of October, and each. The School consists of three weeks at the end of the School year.

School is to combine the physical, mental, and in Literature, Science

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and instruction their out-of-school behavior regulated by strict teachers.

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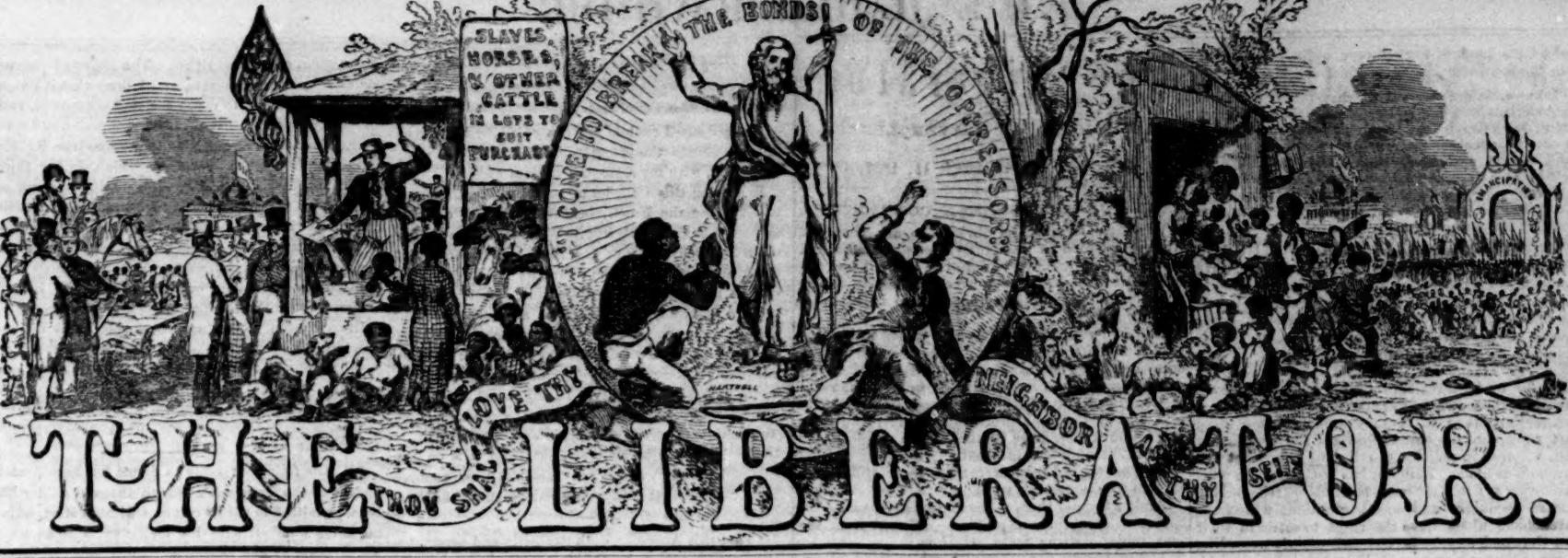
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J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



VOL. XXVII. NO. 37.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1392.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SELECTIONS.

THE REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Memorial of Prof. Silliman and Others.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 2.

The following is the memorial of Professor Silliman, and forty-two others, of Connecticut, addressed to his Excellency James Buchanan, the President of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of the United States, and electors of the State of Connecticut, respectfully offer to your Excellency this their memorial.

The fundamental principle of the Constitution of the United States, and of our political institutions, is, that the people shall make their own laws and elect their own rulers.

Had this attempt proved successful, it would of course have perverted the existing government prescribed and recognized by Congress, and substituted a revolutionary government in its stead.

This was usurpation of the same character as it would be for a portion of the people of Connecticut to undertake to establish a separate government within its chartered limits, for the purpose of redressing any grievances, real or imaginary, of which they might have complained, against the legitimate government.

Such a principle, if carried into execution, would

destroy all lawful authority, and produce universal

anarchy. I ought to specify more particularly a condition of affairs, which I have only embraced in general terms, requiring the presence of a military force, from Tennessee to New Haven, there to meet my classes after an absence of ten years, and to renew friendships contracted in the spring of my life, which can never be effaced from my memory, and which, in my case, were certainly warmer than those contracted at any subsequent period.

I have been looking forward to this meeting, with pleasure, for years, and had planned, if I possibly could, to be present.

Judge then of my deep regret, mortification and disgust, when, on my arrival at New Haven, I learned that Charles Dana had been invited to deliver an oration, nominally before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, but, in reality, before the public at large, and that, upon his declination, Wendell Phillips had been invited, and had accepted.

I presume there is no doubt that the Faculty of Yale College could prevent this, but they only failed to do that, so far as I am aware, never uttered one word in opposition to it.

I am informed that it was done principally through the instrumentality of Mr. Dutton, pastor of the North Church, a man famous, both himself and his church, by his sage rôle meeting.

In addition to this, on the night succeeding the day in which Wendell Phillips' oration was delivered, at a class supper taken of by my class, to which President Woolsey was invited as a special compliment, in consequence of our being the first graduated after he was made President, he, (President Woolsey,) even on such an occasion as that, could not refrain from expressing his hostility to the Anti-Slavery Society. He said, that although he was a conservative, yet he must acknowledge that he was an anti-slavery man, and that having been recently, in the performance of his duties as an instructor, to examine the history of the decline of the Roman Empire, he was satisfied, from the direct effects of slavery which he had there seen, that in future he would be more anti-slavery still.

Notwithstanding he said that he did not suffer this subject to be introduced in College, yet it soon became

so prominent that he could banish it from College, and that would not be silent about such an occasion as that, and that, when every one seemed desirous of avoiding it, and those who could possibly run the risk of being implicated in it, did so.

In addition to this, on the night of my arrival at New Haven, I was afraid to mention the subject at all, for fear that it would be brought up again.

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From one side we hear a warning 'Sign the Pledge,' and from the other an invitation the 'gin-slings.' In one ear we hear 'Set down that Glass,' and in the other 'Philadelphia Lager beer'; in one ear 'Don't Unchain the Tiger,' and in the other 'Pleasant Summer Drinks.' On one side the Tract Society announces 'One Glass More,' and on the other they go in and take it.

But there are other tracts on other subjects in the Tract Society's window. For instance, there is one 'A Strange Thing'; and there is another 'Will it Ever be Known?' Then there is also 'The Bold Blasphemer,' and a companion-piece 'The Necessity of Repentance.'

In addition to the above, there are two other conspicuous tracts, one of which the Tract Society itself should read without delay, while the other should be given to its French Confectioners; they are 'The Fatal Mistake,' and 'To a Retailer in Ardent Spirits.' In the meantime perhaps there is need of another 'Committee of Investigation' to inquire into the constitutionality of the new offices of French Confectioners to the American Tract Society.

M. GARRISON REVIEWED.

We were somewhat surprised to hear that Rev. J. R. Johnson, pastor of the Universalist Society in Milford, had preached a discourse animadverting on the late lecture of Mr. Garrison in the Town Hall. And still more were we surprised, on reading a report of that discourse, in the Milford *Journal* of August 22d, to learn that Mr. Johnson entertains the views and opinions therein set forth. We will briefly notice some of these views and opinions.

Mr. J. R. Johnson is reported to have said:

'So, for liberty to the land and all the inhabitants thereof, will the church pray and labor. For this I am hopeful, and for this consummation so devoutly to be wished, with my brethren I earnestly and assiduously labor to promote. But how is this to be done? Is it to be accomplished by casting the pro-slavery man and slaveholder beyond the pale of sympathy and human regard?—Listening to our radical friends, one would be led very naturally to think that the slave power of community should be annihilated, and instanter a community of liberty-loving men be created to take their places; and then slavery might be abolished. But he thought that the process was to be simply this:—The slaveholder will become converted to free labor, because he will see more money will be made by it. The church and the ministry will become more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of their great Teacher, and the events of God's providence, acting in harmony with these facts, will aid and nourish the growth of the true idea of human rights—man's individual sovereignty.'

Two processes for the abolition of slavery are described in this extract; one the process of 'our radical friends,' Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors; the other, Mr. J. R. Johnson's approved plan. The Garrisonian process is to be accomplished by casting the pro-slavery man and slaveholder beyond the circle of human sympathy and regards—so that the pro-slavery portion of community should be annihilated. Now is it possible that Mr. J. understands 'our radical friends' to propose any such *annihilative* treatment of slaveholders and pro-slavery people! So far from this, we have simply insisted that slaveholders should cease to commit outrages on the sacred rights of their weaker fellow-creatures, which must be for their own good as well as that of others. We rank them as capital criminals, and desire only that they should be disfellowshipped, rebuked and restrained, just as we would have all other great criminals dealt with. And as to pro-slavery people, we simply insist that they shall cease to stand up for slaveholders as no worse than the generality of *uncriminal* citizens in any country; thereby keeping them in countenance, encouraging them in their crimes, and sustaining them in their gigantic wickedness. Is there anything wrong in all this? Is any injury designed against slaveholders and pro-slavery people? If all this should be done to-day, just as we insist, would anybody be injured? Would anybody be cast out of the pale of 'human sympathy,' and annihilated? Would not the now outraged slaves, the slaveholders, their pro-slavery accessories, the country and the race be incomparably better off? Are we to recognize capital criminals as respectable citizens, worthy to be governors of the nation, in state and church, by voting at the polls and in legislative assemblies; and if we will not thus recognize, but consider them moral and political outlaws, so long as they persist in their crimes, is this casting them 'beyond the circle of human sympathies,' and *annihilating* them? If so, then there is no such thing as being the friends of murderers, rapists, robbers, and other capital criminals, without uniting and co-operating with them in political compact as worthless fellows.

We believe in no such doctrine. It is not friendship towards a criminal to stand up for him as a well-enough sort of man, any more than it is good will to the injured part of community whose welfare he is outraging.

But what is Mr. Johnson's approved process for the abolition of slavery? 'Simply this: the slaveholder will be converted to free labor, because he will see more money will be made by it.' The church and the ministry will become more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of their great Teacher, and the events of God's providence, acting in harmony with these facts, will aid and nourish the growth of human rights—man's individual sovereignty.' We must confess that this is to us a very strange and unsatisfactory process to be commanded by a professed minister of Christ. So long as the slaveholder thinks that more money is to be made by robbing his weaker fellow-men of all their rights, he is to be regarded and treated like speculators in stocks, lands, flour, etc., etc., i.e., considered respectable, and allowed to learn, by experience, the best ways of making money! He is not a man-stealer, is he, nor a man-stealer's heir and assign? He is only driving a bad speculation! A tolerably good fellow, after all, only perhaps a little mistaken about the best plan of making money! Would Mr. Johnson think so, if he and his dear ones were the victims of those whoins and sensibilities the money was being made? 'We won't!' Is this the highest moral ground of the church and ministry in the noon of the nineteenth century? Are they yet so little imbued as this 'with the spirit of their great Teacher'? Have the events of God's providence failed to give them a sterner consciousness than this against the blight of crimes? If not, what hope have we of their progress during the next thousand years? They can say that *per se*, forget, counterfeits, and common thieves are too great criminals to tolerate, however fast for the time being they may make money by their crimes; but slaveholders and their accessories, though trampling outrageously on the most sacred rights of millions, are palpably good citizens!—These are to be sympathized with, and treated with respectful consideration, until they become converted to free labor by being convinced that more money can be made by it! We had understood, heretofore, that Mr. Johnson was an Anti-Slavery man. But if this is really his position, and he shall act consistently with it, we are sure that the most inveterate minority Convention in its council-chamber sittings; and if he can do them in final form. Because, if he is right in this, his blow will ultimately correct them: if wrong, those blows will be but a temporary annoyance to them, whilst permanently injurious to his own cause. If they are truly founded on the rock of Christ Jesus, the gates of hell cannot prevail against them. If not, they will certainly, sooner or later, come to nought, whoever may applaud or condemn.—*Practical Christian.*

DISGRACEFUL.

The Republican wing of the Constitutional Convention of Minnesota, now in session, has, by a majority vote, disfranchised the colored people of the Territory. It makes a white skin an indispensable qualification for the exercise of the right of suffrage. Such cowardly, dastardly Republicans is no whit better than the sham Democracy whose despotism it decries. The Minnesota *Republican* thinks that more money is to be made by robbing his weaker fellow-men of all their rights, he is to be regarded and treated like speculators in stocks, lands, flour, etc., etc., i.e., considered respectable, and allowed to learn, by experience, the best ways of making money! He is not a man-stealer, is he, nor a man-stealer's heir and assign?

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WHAT DO WE SEE? A majority of the Republican delegates to a Convention called on purpose to frame an organic law for the establishment of justice, and for securing the blessings of liberty, lose sight of their noble mission and their oft-repeated sights, so far as to make a man's right to self-government depend on the color of his skin! And what is it for? Why, the Taney Democrats have appealed to the base prejudice, born of slavery, which sneers at the black man's manhood, and the Republicans were too cowardly to battle with that prejudice, and so surrendered to it, and avowed their own participation in it, thus bearing false witness against themselves, and making themselves responsible for what they admit to be wrong.

"But the Buchananites," it is said, "have raised this cry of 'Nigger! Nigger! Nigger!' and we must take the wind out of their sails!" And so, to save yourselves from defeat, did you think it best to go over to the enemy? Not for the world would you dishonor yourselves by joining the seceding minority Convention in its council-chamber sittings; but have you not joined it in a worse sense, by stepping upon its platform of intolerance, inhumanity and oppression? Wherein can their Constitution be more pro-slavery than yours? We fear it would take a very long row of such Republicans to stand up against the encroachments of Southern slavery, and restore the American government to the principles of 1776.

It is true the people will be invited to vote on this question in and out of liberty to strike out the odious provision, but we can see that the Convention thereby dodges the responsibility of its inaction.

Honor is due to the large minority who fought this fully with all their might. Among the members from the Eleventh District, who were true to their principles, we observe the names of Bates, Moser, and Hayden; and it is probable that others, whose activity we do not know, deserve the same credit.

The first Republican Convention ever held in Minnesota included in its declaration of principles:

"No civil disabilities on account of COLOR."

BIRTH-PLACE, or RELIGIOUS BELIEF."

It is for the rank and file—the people—to see to it that the party does not drift away from the landmarks of justice and true democracy. Better, a thousand times, that we remain in the minority, than to become so deamed respectable in society, so that they can stand, like our slaveholders, high in its civil and political, if not in its ecclesiastical trust. They do not like to be reckoned in the category of felons. The unpardonable sin of the Garrisonians is, that they doggedly persist in denominating slaveholders as capital felons, and in charging all pro-slavery people, in church and state, with being the allies of felons. But if all this can be smothered down as infidelity and treason, and antislavery resolved into mere opposition to the unprofitableness of the regular constitution, then the whole country will become perfectly harmless.

The *press* and *the antis* can amicably differ on the common plane of social and political good fellowship; and all parties will retain their hitherto respectability; and above all, the church will have ample time to become so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christ as to feel that *man-stealers, their heirs and assigns*, are no more fit for religious or civil society than the smaller felons they now treat as outlaws! This last is a consummation devoutly to be wished!

But we proceed to remark, that Mr. Johnson, in other parts of the same discourse, professes and claims

credit for a kind of anti-slavery quite inconsistent with the mere ANTI-PROFIT one just considered.

I know, said the speaker, that the Old School Presbyterians and the Episcopalians, to a great extent, are open to the charge of being pro-slavery. As ecclesiastical bodies, they have always taken a stand against anti-slavery movements, and some of their D. D.'s have uttered sentiments on the subject of slavery perfectly diabolical. No one can utter his abhorrence of such men and their opinions in too strong or too caustic terms."

We should like to know what the Old School Presbyterians, Episcopalians, or anybody else, have ever said or done contrary to Mr. Johnson's process for abolishing slavery. Have they ever objected to the slaveholder's being converted by the simple conviction that slavery is unprofitable, and abolishing it because more money can be made by free labor? We think not. The most ultra slaveholders are only to let alone, that they may manage slavery in their own way, make it profitable if they can, and give it up when they are fully convinced that they can do better. So all the pro-slavery men, whether of politics or religion, say, 'Let the slaveholders alone. Religion has nothing to do with slavery *per se*; neither have political parties. It is a mere pecuniary and social question which the slaveholders alone have the right to settle in their own time and way.' Is not this exactly what goes to Mr. Johnson's process? Why then does he continue the old school Presbyterians, Episcopalians, &c., to keep clear of this agitation? i. e., if his process be the true one? Plainly they have. Nevertheless, he calls some of their sentiments 'perfectly diabolical,' and says, 'No one can utter his abhorrence of such men and their opinions in too strong or too caustic terms.'

And, whereas, Slavery has now gained entire control over the three branches of our National Government, Executive, Judiciary, and Legislative; has so interpreted the Constitution as to deny the right of Congress to establish freedom even in the territories, or 'to prohibit' the slave power to remove all legal protection from a large portion of the people of the free States, and has inflicted, at many times and places, outrages far greater than those which our fathers rose in arms to repel;

And, wherefore, there seems no probability that the future will, in these respects, be different from the last, under existing State relations:

The undersigned respectfully invite their fellow-citizens of the Free States to meet in Convention, at CLEVELAND, (Ohio,) on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, October 23d and 24th, 1857, to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation of the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.

CALL FOR A NORTHERN CONVENTION. Whereas, it must be obvious to all, that the American Union is constantly becoming more and more divided, by Slavery, into two distinct and antagonistic nations, between whom harmony is impossible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming dangerous;

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DISOLUTION OF THE UNION.

ROCK ISLAND CO., ILL., Aug. 20, 1857.

JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Esq.:

DEAR SIR.—I enclose you the 'Call for a Convention' to discuss the propriety of dissolving this confederation, with my signature thereto

In signing this Call, let me say that I am opposed to dissolving the Union, because I do not deem it necessary to abolish slavery. Why, then, some of my old friends may ask, put your name to a 'treasonable' document emanating from 'fanatics'? I reply, because a large majority of the people, of all parties in politics, and all sects in religion, are such fanatical and idolatrous worshippers at the shrine of the Union, or 'nation,' as they call this Confederacy, that they either forget the reserved rights of the States, or the sacred rights of humanity. In my humble opinion, the Federal Constitution, strictly construed, gives no sanction or support to slavery, in any conceivable form. This may be an error, but, if so, it is on the side of humanity, and is fully sustained, as genuine Democracy, by the following extract from the Virginia resolutions of 1798:—

And, whereas, Slavery has now gained entire control over the three branches of our National Government, Executive, Judiciary, and Legislative; has so interpreted the Constitution as to deny the right of Congress to establish freedom even in the territories, or 'to prohibit' the slave power to remove all legal protection from a large portion of the people of the free States, and has inflicted, at many times and places, outrages far greater than those which our fathers rose in arms to repel;

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SIGMA AND THE DOGS MUZZLED.

To the Editor of the Transcript:

SIR.—In the Transcript of the 13th ult., I declared,

both as an eye and ear witness, that the charge brought by Sigma against Parker Pillsbury, of having publicly baptized three dogs, in mockery of religion and its ordinances, was base, malicious, and utterly destitute of truth. In reply to his declaration, that he had 'letters from gentlemen of Danvers, of the first respectability, confirming the statement, in all its minute particulars, upon the testimony of eye and ear witnesses,' I challenged him to produce either witness or letter in a tangible shape. How has he met the challenge? By renewing his atrocious wicked accusation, without presenting a particle of evidence; and by making the columns of the Transcript, week after week, a scene through which to discharge upon my head a torrent of malignant invective and personal defamation.

Ribaldry like this—cursing like a *very drab*—is beneath serious refutation. Remember, Sigma plumes himself upon being both a Christian and a gentleman! Never was self-delusion ever greater. To reach his abyssmal position, in order to stand on his own level and to meet him with his own weapons, one must make a lower descent than did the rebellious angels:—

—Headlong themselves they threw Down from the verge of heaven: nine days they fell.

Convicted of slander, Sigma seeks to change the issue, and to escape the scorn and indignation of all upright men, by acting the part of the cuttle-fish, and riling the waters, so as not to be transfixed. It is an old and scaly trick, but it will not answer his purpose. No matter what shape he assumes—whether he is a 'kingdom or republic,' or a 'pernicious citizen,' or 'foolish and frantic,' or 'a notorious blasphemer,' or 'the devil's printer,'—nor does it relate to my biblical or sabbatical views,—but it is solely to the truth of the matter he is accused of, that Sigma is incorrigible.

Now, what is a nation? The same distinguished lexicographer defines the word 'nation' to mean, 'a body of people under one government.' The people of these confederated States, as a whole, are not 'under one government.' This point cannot be controverted.

The people of Massachusetts are under one government, and the slaves of the South are under another.

Now, what is a State? But it is not a nation.

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.
NOTES AND QUERIES.

There once was an English lady so proud,
That she hoped when she died and went to heaven,
The High and the Low would not be made even,
But the High and Select have their parors allowed.

QUERY.

Will the wise and learn'd South-side Reverends tell
Who would answer the lady's parlor bell?

If footman behind her chair would wait,

Pick up her handkerchief, hand her plate?

NOTE.

There's a pew in America's churches, they say;
Where even the negro may hear and pray;
Of course, if he pray, he may hope also;
To go to heaven, where all good men go.

QUERY.

Will the South-side Reverends tell to me
What the etiquette there observed will be?
Will the black and white mix freely there,
Or the slave stand behind the white man's chair?

NOTE.

Paul tells us, according as we act here,
The higher our rank in that future sphere;
Now, it sometimes happens the master's a knave,
While the slave is honest, and true, and brave.

QUERY.

Will the slave go up, and the master go down?
The slave wear the richest robe and crown?
The good slave sit on the stately throne,
While the master stands at his footstool alone?

NOTE.

And there is a large and increasing race,
Neither black nor white, who must have some place;
If such are good, though of mingled birth,
There is some best place for their patient worth:
It is this nice case I am much at a loss,
So must ask the Reverend Dr. Ross;
As one whose parents were black and white,
He can set my puzzled ideas right.

QUERY.

Does Dr. Ross ever hope to win
A heaven where the white alone enter in?
Or does he fear, slack, and slack!
To sit for evermore with the black?
Or does he expect to visit in turn
His proud white sires, and the mother they spurn?
And how will he get from one to the other,
He of the black and white man the brother?

NOTE.

'Tis true the whites do not speak so bold;
As did that English lady of old;
They do not say they expect a heaven
Where blacks and whites shall never be even,
A heaven closed in by a ponderous gate,
Where the whites alone shall sit in state;
But deeds, not words, show the secret thought;
And as the negroes are sold and bought,
'Twould be so awkward, were both to meet,
To sit with one's chattel on equal seat!

QUERY.

Will some South-side Reverend please explain
A query that puzzles my simple brain,
How to the whites it would be a heaven
Where the slave and his master were equal and even,
As to only the good a heaven can win,
Is that why the masters indulge in sin?
Tenterden, (Eng.) JANE ASHBY.

THE UNIVERSAL CORNER.

BY CHARLES MACKAT.

When little John is five years old,
With cheeks like peaches glowing,
With merry eyes, half bold, half shy,
And smile like ripples flowing:
Wouldst see him happy? Watch him well,
And proudest famous Horner,
You'll find him joyous and alone,
With sweetmeats in the corner.

And, older grown, a youth in years,
When tastes and pleasures vary,
He loves to haunt the self-same place,
With cousin Jane or Mary.
Inquire not what their talk may be,
Nor laugh, you idle scorners;

But be assured, whate'er they say,
They're happy in the corner.

And later still, when past his prime,
He's run his round of pleasure,
And learn'd, like Israel's mournful king,
The worth of things to measure,
What shadows I have chased! he cries—
And sighs with heart-forsaken—

Vexation, vanity and shame,
I spy you from the corner!

Still faithful to the place, he sits
With wife and children round him,
And smokes the 'calumet of peace.'

When trouble would confound him.

Takes fortune kindly if she comes,
If absent, does not mourn her;

So to the kingdom if you will—

He's quiet in the corner!

THE DUTY—THE REWARD.

Every day hath toil and trouble,
Every heart hath care:

Meekly bear thinne full measure,

And thy brother's share.

Fear not, shrink not, though the burden

Heavy to thee prove;

God shall fill thy mouth with gladness,

And thy heart with love.

Labor! wait! thy Master perish'd

Ere his task was done;

Count not lost thy fleeting moments—

Life hath but begun.

Labor! and the seed thou sowest

Water with thy tears;

God is faithful, he will give thee

Answer to thy prayer.

Wait in hope! though yet no verdure

Glad thy longings eyes,

Thou shalt see the ripened harvest

Garnered in the skies.

Labor! wait! though midnight shadows

Gather 'round thee here,

And the storm above thee lowerng

Fill thy heart with fear.

Wait in hope! the morning dawmeth

When the night is gone;

And a peaceful rest awaits thee

When thy work is done.

BEAR THREE UP BRAVELY.

Bear thee up bravely,

Strong heart and true!

Meet thy woes gravely,

Strive with them too!

Let them not win from thee

Tears of regret,

Such were a sin for thee—

Hope for good yet.

The Liberator.

THE 'COMPENSATION' CONVENTION.
Have Thieves a Moral Right to receive pay for giving up their Stolen Goods?—A Horrible Mockery!

MELODISON, CLEVELAND, Aug. 25, 1857.

DEAR GARRISON:

I am in the Convention called by Elihu Burritt, Gerrit Smith, Rev. Dr. Nott, Prof. Silliman, Hon. Erastus Fairbanks, Rev. Abel Stevens, editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, the great Methodist organ, Rev. Dr. Joel Hall, Prof. Upham, and many others, to concoct a plan to pay the slaveholders for giving up their slaves; or, in other words, I am in a Convention called to discuss the question, *Have thieves a right to demand payment for giving up their stolen goods?* That is the simple question at issue, the callers of this Convention themselves are witnesses for, in the language of Gerrit Smith, John Rankin, and others, to concoct a plan to pay the slaveholders for giving up their slaves; or, in other words, I am in a Convention called to discuss the question, *Have thieves a right to demand payment for giving up their stolen goods?*

But to accommodate the slaveholders, not because of the benefit, pecuniarily, morally or socially, it would be to the North. The North declared it would be greatly for her interest to have every slave freed, but the South would not consent; so the North consented that slaveholders might come in and have power in the government in proportion to the number of their slaves. The North, pecuniarily, politically, socially and morally, had been infinitely the gainer, had slaveholders, from the outset, been for ever excluded, as thieves and pirates are, from the confederacy. But to accommodate them, the North entered into the fatal and deadly compromise, and agreed that slavery and liberty should share alike its honors and its rewards. And now, and on this ground of *participatio criminis*, Gerrit Smith argues the duty of the North to pay the slaveholders to give up their stolen goods. But for the consent and assistance of the North, slavery had never been in this confederacy, and but for the continuance of this assistance, it would not exist five years. But for the South to browbeat, threaten and bully the North into this guilty support of slavery, and then, and on this ground of *participatio criminis*, Gerrit Smith argues the duty of the North to pay the slaveholders to give up their stolen goods. But for the consent and assistance of the North, slavery had never been in this confederacy, and but for the continuance of this assistance, it would not exist five years. But for the South to browbeat, threaten and bully the North into this guilty support of slavery, and then, and on this ground of *participatio criminis*, Gerrit Smith argues the duty of the North to pay the slaveholders to give up their stolen goods. 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